

SPECIAL CAMPAIGN NUMBER

THE REMONSTRANCE

AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

BOSTON, SEPTEMBER, 1915

The Remonstrance is published quarterly by the Women's Anti-Suffrage Association of Massachusetts. It expresses the views of women in Massachusetts, Maine, Rhode Island, New York, Nebraska, Iowa, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Connecticut, Maryland, New Hampshire, Vermont, New Jersey, Wisconsin, Ohio, Virginia and other states.

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Women's Anti-Suffrage Association of Massachusetts

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EVERY VOTE COUNTS

If there are any easy-going voters in Massachusetts who are so sure that the suffrage amendment will be defeated next November that they do not think that it matters much whether they do anything about it, they should bear in mind that, in nearly every state which has adopted suffrage, that result has been secured by insignificant majorities.

Of the ten suffrage states in which the proposal was submitted to the voters, there are only three,—Utah, Washington and Kansas—in which the majority in favor was more than 6,500. Oregon, after suffrage had been repeatedly defeated at the polls, was carried by a majority of only

3,277; California, with a population of about 2,500,000, was carried by a majority of only 3,500; and the total suffrage majorities in the ten states were only about one-half as large as the anti-suffrage majority in Ohio last year.

All this emphasizes the importance of the single vote.

Let the conservative voters of Massachusetts—the men who want to keep the women of the state from being thrust into politics against their will—take the lesson to heart. The proposed suffrage amendment can be defeated next November by an overwhelming majority, and will be,—unless too many voters think its defeat so certain that they do not need to concern themselves about it.

The end to be kept steadily in view is not merely its defeat, but its defeat by the heaviest possible majority.

IS IT WORTH THE COST?

MERELY as a matter of dollars and cents, is woman suffrage worth what it costs?

Secretary of State Langtry, who, as himself a suffragist, is not likely to overstate the facts, says: "I should say that woman suffrage would add at least 50 per cent. to the cost of elections and primaries in Massachusetts."

Careful estimates show that last year's election in the state of New York cost the public treasury \$2,824,492.53. If women had been voting, and Mr. Langtry's estimate is correct, the New York taxpayers would have had to pay \$1,412,246 more.

This year, in Massachusetts, the state tax is a million dollars larger than it was last year. In many towns and cities, the tax rate this year is from \$2 to \$3 per thousand dollars higher than it was in 1914.

As the taxpayer gazes at his swollen tax bill, let him ask himself whether it is worth while to enlarge it still further by voting, on the 2d of November, to add 50 per cent. to the cost of every election,—without the slightest compensating advantage to show for it.

And the question is not one for the taxpayer only; for when taxes increase, rents go up and the cost of living is higher and the effect is felt by every wage earner quite as much as by the direct taxpayer.

WHY do the suffragists keep on claiming that women's school vote is increasing? The official figures are accessible to any one. In Boston, in 1910, 11,912 women registered and 6,483 voted; in 1911, 11,269 registered and 5,500 voted; in 1912, 12,255 registered and 6,350 voted; in 1913, 11,127 registered and 4,838 voted; in January, 1914, 10,024 registered and 3,086 voted; and in December, 1914, 9,418 registered and 3,949 voted. Only about 3 per cent of the Boston women qualified to vote are taking the trouble to do so.

STAND BY THE WOMEN

NOT THE LESS-THAN-TEN-PERCENT., WHO CLAMOR FOR THE BALLOT.

BUT THE MORE-THAN-NINETY-PERCENT. WHO DO NOT WANT IT. THE SUFFRAGISTS WERE NOT WILLING THAT THESE WOMEN SHOULD EXPRESS THEIR VIEWS IN A REFERENDUM.

THEREFORE THEY MUST LOOK TO THE MEN OF MASSACHUSETTS TO SHIELD THEM FROM UNWELCOME AND UNNECESSARY POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITIES. GIVE THEM A FAIR CHANCE TO DO THEIR NORMAL WORK, TO CARRY THEIR NORMAL BURDENS AND TO EXERT THEIR NORMAL INFLUENCE.

MRS. CODMAN'S RESIGNATION

ONE of the requirements of the so-called "Corrupt Practices Act" in Massachusetts is that one person must not hold two official positions in a committee taking part in a political campaign.

Mrs. James M. Codman, President of the Women's Anti-Suffrage Association of Massachusetts, had also served 13 years as Treasurer; but, to the regret of every one who appreciates her faithful and devoted work in both offices, the law made it impossible for this double service to continue and she resigned her office as President, retaining her position as Treasurer. At a meeting of the Executive Committee, July 9, Mrs. John Balch of Milton was elected President, and Miss Mary S. Ames of North Easton Chairman of the Executive Committee. The following resolution was adopted:

The Executive Committee desires to express its gratitude to Mrs. Codman for consenting to continue her most efficient work as Treasurer of this Association, and its great regret at losing her from the Presidency through the recent law forbidding one person to hold two offices.

Under Mrs. Codman, the Association has increased in numbers and in power as never before, and the committee wishes its appreciation spread upon the records.

WHEN AREA VOTES

THE Woman's Journal is inclined to resent the anti-suffrage statement that "population votes, not area"—obviously true though that statement is—and it quotes approvingly the argument of a New Jersey clergyman, who says:

"Area votes on all amendments to the Constitution, as it did in the original acceptance and adoption of the Constitution. In order that an amendment shall become a part of the Constitution, it must be approved by three-fourths of the States, without any regard whatever to their population. Upon some supremely important occasions area does vote."

The New Jersey clergyman is quite right in his contention. But whether

it is altogether wise for the Woman's Journal to emphasize this point is doubtful, for it is upon this disproportionate area and meagre population of the suffrage states that the whole movement for a Federal constitutional suffrage amendment rests.

What the suffragists are striving for is a chance to play off such a state as Nevada, with a population of 81,875, against New York, with a population of 9,113,614, and to make Wyoming, which had a population of only 9,118 when it adopted woman suffrage in 1869, and has now a population of only 145,965, able to cancel Pennsylvania, with a population of 7,665,111.

The four great states, which are to vote on suffrage amendments this year, have a combined population of 22,652,306. The eleven suffrage states which, The Woman's Journal proudly boasts, cover "about half the territory of the United States", have a total population of only 8,189,469.

Suppose that all of these four states—as in all probability will be the case—reject the suffrage amendments. What then? If the suffrage scheme for a Federal amendment were to be approved by Congress, these four states, when the amendment was submitted, would be overborne more than two and a half times, in the final reckoning, by the eleven suffrage states whose combined population does not equal that of the state of New York.

This is what the suffragists are striving for, and their intention cannot be made too clear.

THE LATEST CHICAGO ELECTION

THE suffragists are not pointing with pride to the returns of the June Chicago election. Several important bonding propositions were submitted, relating to matters in which women might be supposed to be interested. The number of Chicago women registered was 282,291, but the largest number voting on any of the propositions was only 9,372. One

proposal was for an issue of bonds for the purpose of improving certain parks and pleasure grounds. This drew out a women's vote of 2,754, which was almost evenly divided. Another proposal was for a million-dollar bond issue for the purpose of erecting new buildings for the care of the indigent, sick and poor. On this proposal, 7,459 women voted; but they voted almost two to one against it. On a third proposal, for a two and a half million dollar bond issue for the building of a new county jail and a new criminal court building, 7,543 women voted, but they voted more than two to one against it. It would appear that problems of "municipal housekeeping" interest only a handful of Chicago women.

A QUESTION ANSWERED

THE Fall River News of June 12th said:

"Will any woman suffragist tell us what proportion of the adult women of Massachusetts use the privilege they now have of voting for members of the school boards? We doubt if five per cent. of the women at large do so."

The News will wait a long time if it waits until any suffragist comes forward with the desired information. THE REMONSTRANCE will give it from the official figures. According to the United States Census of 1910, the women of voting age in Massachusetts numbered 1,074,485. In 1914, the whole number of women voting for school committee in Massachusetts cities and towns was 41,871. This was only 3.9 per cent. The estimate which the News made was a generous one.

THE suffrage attempt to resuscitate the suffrage amendment proposal in the Wisconsin legislature was a gloomy failure as it deserved to be. A state which, only three years ago, defeated a suffrage amendment by a majority of 91,479, may well claim to be relieved from a renewal of the suffrage agitation.

NO LIMIT IN SIGHT

THERE seems to be no limit in sight to the things which the suffragists are willing to do in the hope of advancing their cause.

It might have been thought that the limit was reached in the plans for the so-called "Transfer Day" of the Boston suffragists, July 24. It was officially announced beforehand that "The prettiest of the young women suffragists" would be stationed at street corners in the business section at the noon hour, to talk suffrage to masculine passers-by, and to hand to them what purported to be "transfer checks" from anti-suffrage to suffrage. These checks, resembling transfer checks on the street cars, were to be perforated, it was explained, with a special "heart-shaped punch."

The evening papers of that day described how the plan was carried out. The most effective work, it was said, was done at Thompson's Spa, where the pretty transfer distributors—"the prettier the better" as one of the suffrage leaders said on a similar occasion—"had been given the privilege of approaching the male lunchers all during the noon hour." In Pemberton Square "a corps of recruiters made a whirlwind campaign." In the office buildings that were invaded, the Traveler reporter said, "the plan of attack was to approach all men in sight, whether they were busy at desks or hustling through the halls to the elevators." Altogether, the reporter goes on, "more than 2,000 transfers were issued in less than an hour and the suffragists are therefore counting on 2,000 more votes at the election."

Any one who knows city life does not need to be told the kind of familiarities which are likely to attend such campaign uses of young and pretty girls. And this coarsening and cheapening of young womanhood was done, as a correspondent of the Boston Post remarked, "in the interest of a cause which some of its advocates still believe to be headed toward moral uplift."

But even this did not mark the limit of suffrage activities of a more than doubtful kind. On the night of July 21, a group of New York suffragists, led by Mrs. J. Wells Wentworth, Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse and Mrs. Francis E. Brewer attended a prize fight at St. Nicholas Rink, and Mrs. Brewer addressed the spectators between the bouts. "For the first time at a box fight night," the Sun's reporter says, "Jimmy Johnston had fitted his fight club out with girl ushers, ten of them, all adorned in white with yellow ribbons across their bosoms" and "regiments of girl reporters were ecstatic at this their first chance to see a set of bouts between, in a manner of speaking, real prize fighters." Mrs. Brewer spoke, or tried to speak, from the middle of the prize ring, after being formally presented by Joe Humphreys, the box-fight announcer, as "Vice President of the Equal Suffrage Party." She was interrupted by such a clamor of jeers and cat-calls that she could not be heard a yard away.

It is not necessary to give more details of this disgusting suffrage enterprise. But the scathing rebuke, reprinted in another column from the Boston American—a strong suffrage organ, and not over squeamish about methods—accurately characterizes the performance.

A VOTE WITHOUT SANCTION

THE outstanding fact about the pro-suffrage vote of the convention of the Massachusetts Federation of Women's Clubs at Marion is that it was taken without the sanction of the clubs which it purported to represent.

The announcement that such a resolution would be offered was not sent to the clubs until after most of them had disbanded for the summer. The more or less informal way in which many of the delegates were appointed gave the suffragists their desired opportunity to secure suffragist delegates without any direct raising of the issue. The fact that the by-laws of the Federation expressly limit membership to

clubs whose objects are "unsectarian and non-partisan" is in itself a condemnation of the partisan vote which the suffragists resolved to secure, regardless of the best interests of the clubs, and the possibly disrupting effects of the issue.

The vote at the convention was widely reported as one of 203 to 99 and it figured in the headlines as a "two to one vote." But it was nothing of the sort. Of the 397 duly registered delegates, 203 voted for the suffrage resolution, 99 voted against it, and 95, recognizing the fact that they were not authorized to vote on such a proposition, did not vote at all. The suffragists, therefore, after all their manipulations, had a majority of only nine in the convention.

It is a familiar practice of the suffragists to rush favoring resolutions through conventions of various organizations, and then to claim the entire membership of those organizations as friendly to their cause. They are doing this already with the vote at Marion. But, if that vote is interpreted as exactly representing the attitude of the membership of the women's clubs, it means that 51.1 per cent. of the membership is in favor of suffrage and 48.9 per cent. is not. On a perfectly fair vote, with the issue brought directly before the individual clubs, there is a strong probability that the majority would be found on the other side.

REMEMBER

THAT IT IS NOT SQUARE MILES OF AREA BUT VOTES THAT COUNT; THAT THE FOUR STATES WHICH ARE TO VOTE ON SUFFRAGE THIS FALL HAVE TWO AND A HALF TIMES THE POPULATION OF THE ELEVEN SUFFRAGE STATES;

THAT THE DEFEAT OF SUFFRAGE IN THESE FOUR STATES WILL HALT A MOVEMENT WHICH MENACES BOTH WOMANHOOD AND THE STATE;

THAT TO ACHIEVE SUCH A RESULT IS WELL WORTH ALL THE STRENGTH THAT YOU CAN GIVE TO THE CAUSE BETWEEN NOW AND THE DAY OF THE ELECTION.

Why Women Oppose Woman Suffrage

Views of Anti-Suffrage Women in Massachusetts, New York, Connecticut, Ohio, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Minnesota

Responsible for the Voters

Ninety-seven per cent. of the women in this country have no servants, and you don't hear that ninety-seven per cent. clamoring for the vote. They are responsible for the voters, and they have enough to do in the home without dabbling in politics.—*Mrs. H. E. Talbott, President of the Ohio Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.*

Not the Whole of Government

Pure milk and clean streets are not the whole of government; they are a most desirable part of our civic order; but if the financial resources be sapped, if the Government be weakened by emotional legislation, all records of welfare and reform legislation, lacking the means to put them into operation, are not worth the paper upon which they are written.—*Mrs. A. J. George, Field Secretary of the Women's Anti-Suffrage Association of Massachusetts.*

A Partnership in Miniature

All society is one vast partnership of men and women. The family is that partnership in miniature. I have never heard of a partnership succeeding when both members of the firm tried to do exactly the same work, to carry exactly the same part of the responsibilities, and to work for the good of the firm through exactly the same means. And I am sure that no partnership could succeed which did not have a unified policy toward the outside world.—*Miss Lucy J. Price, Field Secretary of the Ohio Anti-Suffrage Association.*

The Hope of our Land

To Anti-Suffragists, the scientific housewife and mother seem, more and more, the demand of the day. We have no sympathy with the band of women, affiliated with suffrage, who declare servitude and injustice are expressed in the words home, husband and duty. We have no sympathy with the doctrine of trial marriage, public rearing of children, and mothers who prefer to be wage-earners—tenets of these same women. We believe the hope of our land lies in the mother-love and the father-love over the home and in the home, per-

meating the development of childhood and youth.—*Mrs. J. B. Gilfillan, President of the Minnesota Anti-suffrage Association.*

A One-Sided Idea of Chivalry

Some men are possessed of a singularly one-sided idea of chivalry, being unwilling to refuse what they consider a slight courtesy to the women who are for suffrage, but refusing to be chivalrous to the anti-suffragists. "If they want to vote, let them," it is said, as if voting were a matter of individual privilege rather than public policy. This is the group who think those who do not want it ought to stay at home and not hinder those who do—a misconception of the whole question so extraordinary that it shakes one's faith in the value of democracy and reveals a strangely superficial teaching of this subject to our boys and men.—*Miss Anna L. Dawes, Vice President of the Women's Anti-Suffrage Association of Massachusetts.*

The Crux of the Movement

Here is the crux of the movement. The suffragists place the home second in importance, their individual achievement coming first. They do not object to children as a rule, but the latter must at least not absorb a mother's entire time and attention; and by emphasizing individual achievement they put a premium on spinsterhood or childless marriages. Their opponents, on the other hand, place home first and foremost, and seek to conserve woman's strength for motherhood, her true service to the State. All other interests must fall into line behind or drop out entirely if they interfere with the home in any way. We hear too much about the rights of women in this so-called progressive age. What about the rights of children?—*Miss Alice Edith Abell, President of the Wage-Earners' Anti-Suffrage League.*

A Woman's Business

First—To give children good sound bodies. Women do not need to vote for pure, wholesome food. Seventy-five per cent. of all food contamination takes place in the home. A woman's business is to keep her own home clean and to see that the board

of health looks after her unclean neighbors. This doesn't need a vote.

Second—To give children good minds. In 37 states women already have a vote on school questions, and only two per cent. use it. But no vote is necessary to watch what children read, and to answer their questions. It is easier to vote than to do this. But a child's mind is its mother's chance.

Third—To give children good morals. Women do not need a vote to keep their children off the streets.—*Mrs. W. B. Williams, Chairman Press Committee of Connecticut Anti-Suffrage Association.*

The Burden of Proof

The burden of proving that the enlarged electorate would be an improved electorate rests on those who demand the change. Many women are more intelligent, more moral than many men, but the morality and intelligence of women and men of the same opportunities and environment strike about the same average, and it has yet to be shown that the doubling of the electorate, the wise, the foolish, the patriotic, the self-seeking, would improve the electorate. The enfranchised woman seems to give even less attention than man to political duties, if we are to trust election returns. If woman suffrage is to increase the danger which confronts us today in the indifferent and stay-at-home voter, the patriotic women have the right to protest against the imposition upon women of responsibilities which would not be fulfilled.—*Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, President National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.*

Is It Worth While?

If woman is to be merely an irresponsible element in the electorate the structure of government will be weakened and not strengthened by giving her the ballot. If she is to be a responsible elector, then she must qualify herself to vote wisely, not only upon questions classified by the suffragists as "municipal housekeeping," but also upon questions of grave public interest concerning finance, international disputes, tariff, etc., and she will be able to do this only by entering the school where men acquire such knowledge—through the experi-

ence of their daily work out in the world. There is no question but that the whole social structure of our state will be weakened in this attempt to equalize and identify the activities and responsibilities of the two sexes. Is it worth while to bring about a social cataclysm because some women want to vote?—*Miss Alice Hill Chittenden, President of New York State Anti-Suffrage Association.*

Throwing Away Their Power

If women were given the vote, it seems to me they would throw away a power they have, which has accomplished and is accomplishing wonderful results in the larger improvement of general conditions. A group of women who are non-voters and not affiliated with any political party, are in much better position to ask for and get the reform measures they desire. If they were voters and allied with a political party their motives would be questioned, and the opposition party would make it much more difficult to grant such a request or put through the legislation sought. Today it is the good women of the community who are striving for ideals in the community. Isn't such a force, active in the community, much stronger standing alone asking for something which such an influence represents, than a similar force weighted with an undesirable influence? Women today, in their active co-operation for better conditions, represent a perfectly good working organization. We have not fully tried out this system, and I think we should before we vote to bring about a change. A woman's political party would represent the undesirable as well as the desirable women, and, as I have said, there would not be the same results accomplished as there are now with the good women of the community working for a specific object.—*Mrs. Thomas J. Preston, Jr., Vice President of the New Jersey Anti-Suffrage Association.*

Battles with the Ballot

Suffragists tell us that woman's work has gone out of the home; that the factory, the salesroom and the school have taken the mother's place, that obedience has gone out of fashion, that this is an age of "individual freedom."

That is just it. Some time ago, some one started a "Back to the farm" movement, in order to get more men interested in the vital products that

are necessary to keep humanity alive, while dreamers are planning Utopias and the high cost of living is increasing. Before feminism goes much farther, and a necessity arises for a "Back to the home" movement, anti-suffragists want to convince women that the vital products represented in the child crop, are worthy of personal cultivation. Why increase the high cost of government by battles with the ballot, when what the country really needs is better children?—*Mrs. Austin M. Purves, Vice-Chairman of the Organizing Committee, Pennsylvania Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.*

The Woman Wage Earner's Point of View

Since we believe that the wage-earning woman will lose more than she can possibly gain by accepting legal and political equality with the working man, we women in the business world are joining the Anti-suffrage organizations in large numbers. . . . When the nine-hour day for women was up for consideration in Connecticut the only woman who fought it was a suffragist, who said: "Women do not want any privileges and protection from the law which men do not want. We are trying to obtain legal identity for the sexes. We ask you to wipe the words male and female off the statute books." This is a perfectly logical suffrage result. But it is the last thing in the world desired by the women who know what it means to punch a time clock.

Today a woman may work in any trade in the Union, in any state in the Union, and she has better laws for her protection than the male voter who works at the bench beside her. Every law that protects him is a blanket law which protects her also, except in occupations which are so dangerous that she is excluded from them for her own safety. In addition to the labor laws which working men and women share together, the woman has hundreds of laws and ordinances which men have not. It is against the law of numerous states to work women in the mines, to permit them to clean and oil moving machinery, to handle explosives, to run elevators and engines, etc. We also have ordinances providing for seats for female employees. Nobody is trying to secure seats for male employees. We do not care how long they stand in our department stores.

We are not satisfied with our pro-

ductive legislation for women, neither are we satisfied with its present enforcement, but nevertheless we realize that women are more adequately protected in industry today than men are, and that the worst thing which could happen to the wage-earning woman would be for the law to place her on an equality with men. She needs equality plus—and if the suffragists do not mold public opinion their way she stands a fair chance of getting everything men have with many additional safeguards.—*Miss Marjorie Dorman, Secretary of the Wage-Earners' League of New York.*

THE Woman's Journal quotes Judge Henry Neil of Chicago as saying: "Within four years we have reduced the number of children brought into the Children's Court in Chicago in one year, charged with crimes, from 280 to 8." But the Woman's Journal omits to mention the fact that the Illinois Juvenile Court Law, under which this result was brought about, was a "man-made law," enacted long before the suffragists lobbied their limited suffrage bill through the Legislature.

THE MISCHIEF OF AN UNTRAINED ELECTORATE

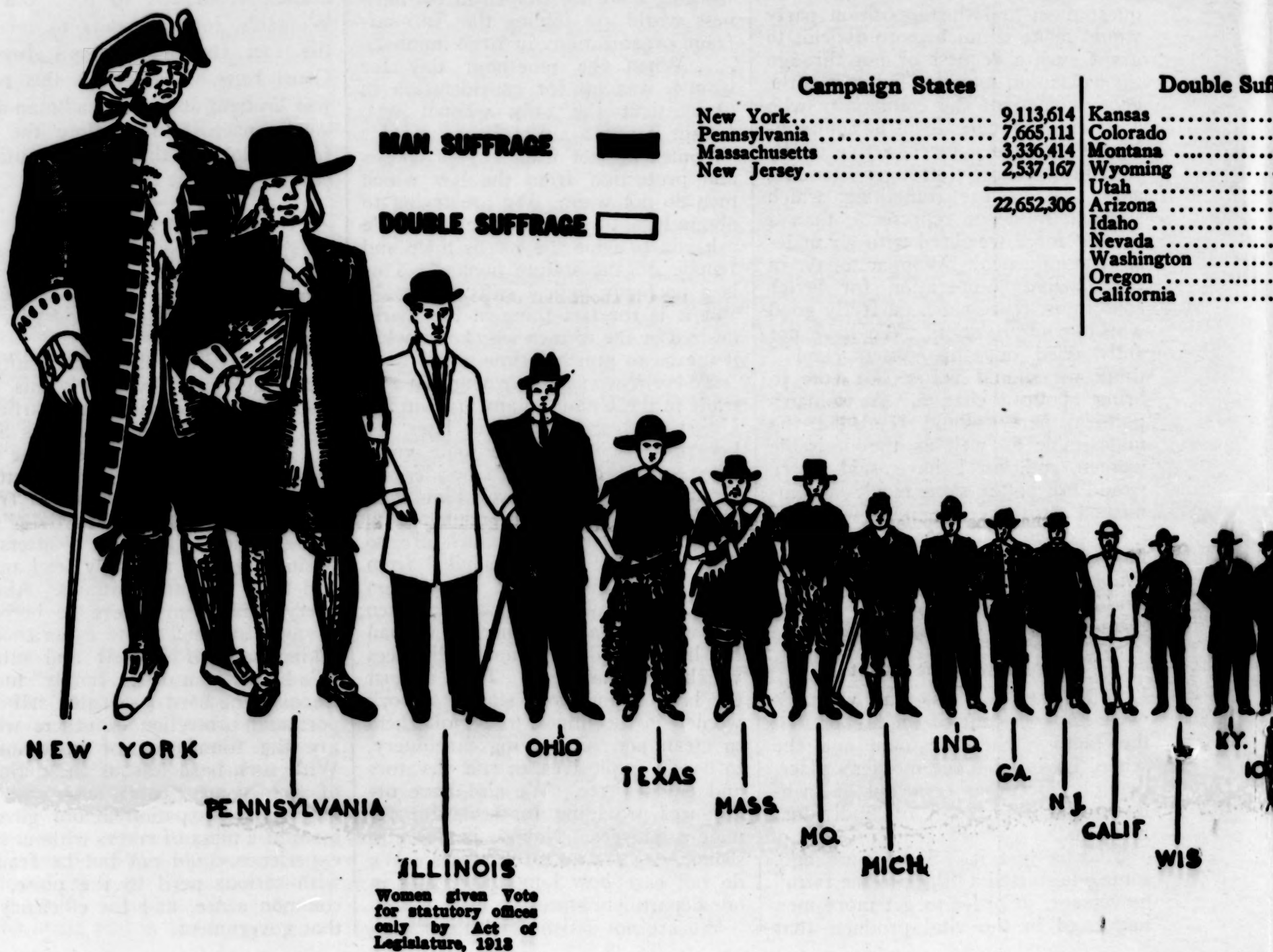
(From a Letter from Henry L. Stimson, Former Secretary of War, to Miss Alice Hill Chittenden, New York Times, June 12, 1915)

THE passage of the woman suffrage amendment in New York this Fall would mean the immediate participation in the government of this State of some two million voters, the vast majority of whom are not only utterly without political experience or training, but have not even had the slightest experience in those matters of business which naturally lead up to and train for public affairs. Almost every man, even before he becomes of age, has had some experience in taking care of himself and others. "To be the man of the family" means learning the hard lessons of self-support and protection of others which are the foundation of government. With such hard lessons the majority of women are entirely unacquainted, and the participation in our government of a mass of voters without such experience could not but be fraught with serious peril to the poise, the common sense, and the efficiency of that government.

POPULATION VOTES

Population of States as Represented by the Figures In the Picture

New York	8,113,614	Tennessee	2,184,789	Florida	782,919
Pennsylvania	7,665,111	Alabama	2,132,893	Maine	742,371
Illinois	5,636,591	Minnesota	2,076,788	Oregon	672,788
Ohio	4,767,121	Virginia	2,061,612	South Dakota	583,888
Texas	3,906,542	Mississippi	1,797,114	North Dakota	577,836
Massachusetts	3,336,414	Kansas	1,680,940	Rhode Island	542,610
Missouri	3,293,335	Oklahoma	1,657,155	New Hampshire	430,572
Michigan	2,816,173	Louisiana	1,654,398	Montana	376,833
Indiana	2,786,576	Arkansas	1,574,440	Utah	373,361
Georgia	2,600,121	South Carolina	1,515,400	Vermont	355,956
New Jersey	2,537,167	Maryland	1,295,946	New Mexico	327,391
California	2,377,549	West Virginia	1,221,119	Idaho	323,594
Wisconsin	2,333,900	Nebraska	1,192,214	Arizona	204,354
Kentucky	2,299,905	Washington	1,141,990	Delaware	202,322
Iowa	2,224,771	Connecticut	1,114,758	Wyoming	145,965
North Carolina	2,206,237	Colorado	799,024	Nevada	81,875



ES—AREA DOES NOT

Women's Anti-Suffrage Association of Massachusetts

Room 615, 687 BOYLSTON STREET, BOSTON.

On November 2nd the Women's Suffrage Amendment will be voted on. To defeat it we need everyone's hearty co-operation and the greatest need is money for

Speakers
Campaign Tours
Rent of Halls
Advertising { Newspapers
Moving Picture Shows
Posters
Window Displays
Literature
Printing and Postage
Labor

A generous response will bring success.

MRS. JAMES M. CODMAN, *Treasurer.*

Suffrage States

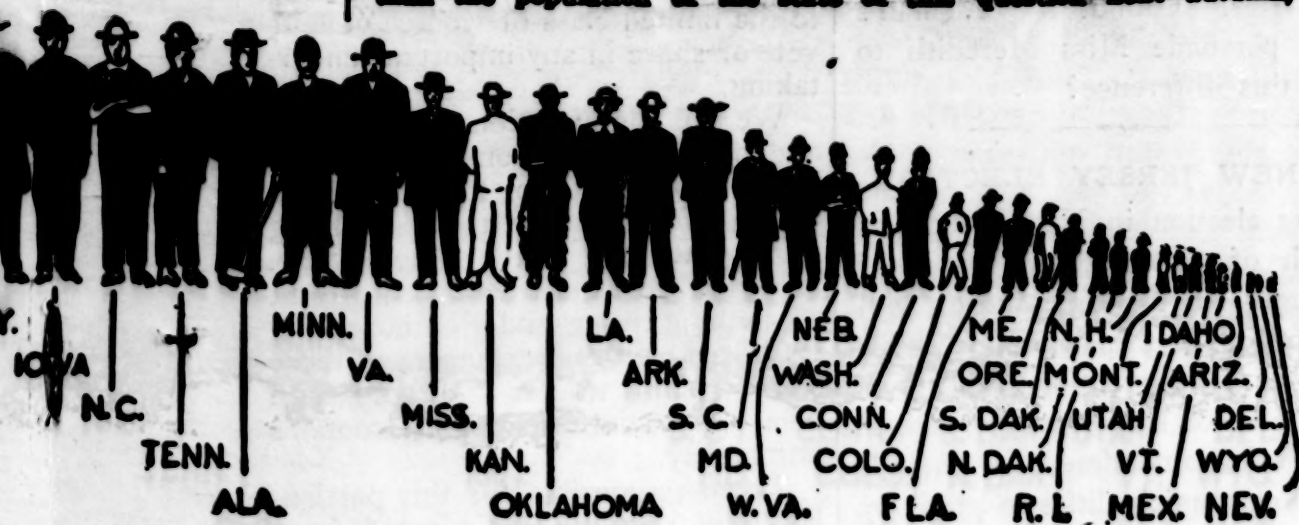
.....	1,690,949
.....	799,024
.....	376,053
.....	145,965
.....	373,351
.....	204,354
.....	325,594
.....	81,875
.....	1,141,990
.....	672,765
.....	2,377,549
.....	8,189,469

THE suffragists display a map of the United States on which the woman suffrage states in the west are white, while the eastern states are black. They talk about the vast area of these states and tell us that New York state could be dropped in Montana and be utterly lost. But area does not vote. The suffragists fail to tell their audiences that the entire population of those eleven woman suffrage states is about 900,000 less than the population of the state of

New York. The population of Montana is about half the population of the city of Boston. There are fewer inhabitants in the state of Nevada than in the city of Lawrence, Mass. The density of the population of all those eleven states, plus the state of Illinois, where women have partial suffrage, is only 15.3 persons per square mile, while the density of population of New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, which states will vote on this question next autumn, is 279.7

persons per square mile.

Within the last two years woman suffrage has been defeated in Michigan by a majority of 96,144, in Nebraska by a majority of 10,104, in Missouri by a majority of 140,206 and in North and South Dakota by substantial majorities. Ohio has defeated this proposition twice in recent years—in 1912 by a majority of 87,455 and in 1914 by the increased majority of 182,905. These figures justify the saying, "Woman suffrage is going, not coming."



The Suffragists figure it out that 49½ per cent. of the territory of the United States is suffrage territory. That sounds impressive; but it is not territory but people that vote. Would it not be more candid if they said that only 8.9 per cent. of the population of the United States live in full double suffrage territory, or 15 per cent., including Illinois.

WILL GO RIGHT ON HECKLING

THE Congressional Union announces its purpose to go right on heckling the President, in spite of all protests and criticisms. It declares officially that "Every time the President goes into a State, he will be asked to see a deputation of suffragists"; and Miss Lucy Burns, Vice Chairman of the Union, says:

"New York suffragists did exactly the right thing in asking for an opportunity to present their case for national enfranchisement to the President when he visited their city. It will not be possible for Mr. Wilson to maintain very long his present attitude of stubborn resistance to justice."

Anti-suffragists may deplore, as a matter of taste, this display of bad manners; but, so far as the cause itself is concerned, nothing could do more to increase anti-suffrage votes.

AN AMUSING CONTRADICTION

THE Woman's Journal of August 7th presented its readers, unwittingly, with an amusing contradiction of arguments.

On one page, it published an article entitled "Colorado Ballot Helps the Home", which affirmed that the enfranchised woman "can sense the enemy of the home more quickly and will fight him with more telling effect than the husband, and while preserving all her natural feminine charm and sweetness, she will become even more devoted to the man who has allowed her ampler means and fuller power for the protection of their common fireside."

On another page, it printed an elaborate defence of conditions in Colorado by Miss Ellis Meredith who, however, felt obliged to begin with this frank admission:

"The divorce rate in Colorado is high; let us grant that at once, but there are explanations. Denver is a pleasant place of sojourn for those who prefer to seek a legal solution of their woes elsewhere than in their own homes, and there are many such."

Readers of The Woman's Journal

may well be bewildered. To be told on one page that the ballot in Colorado has helped the home, and that Colorado women, by reason of the ballot, are better able than their husbands to fight the enemy of the home and to aid in the protection of their common firesides, and then to learn from another page that, on suffrage admissions, the divorce rate in Colorado is exceptionally high is certainly confusing.

One wonders why Miss Meredith did not go farther with her explanations. It seems hardly enough to say that "Denver is a pleasant place of sojourn for those who prefer to seek a legal solution of their woes elsewhere than in their own homes." What takes such people there unless divorce is especially easy under Colorado laws, and Denver a close second to Reno in these facilities?

It is true, as Miss Meredith found herself obliged to admit, that the divorce rate in Colorado is high. But the same thing is true of other suffrage states, and it is hard to escape the conclusion that the coincidence is significant. In six suffrage states, Wyoming, Colorado, Idaho, Utah, Washington and California, there were in 1910, 39,605 divorcees. In the six New England states, with a population nearly one and a half million larger, there were only 26,334. During the twenty-year period, 1887-1906, the ratio of divorces to marriages in Massachusetts was only about one third as large as in the suffrage states. Cannot the Woman's Journal persuade Miss Meredith to explain this difference?

THE NEW JERSEY ELECTION

At the election in New Jersey on the 19th of October, two proposed amendments to the Constitution will be submitted to the voters, in addition to the suffrage amendment.

One of these, known as the excess-condemnation amendment, is intended to allow municipalities to profit by the unearned increment resulting from the opening of new parks and

streets. This is of local interest only. But the other proposal is important in connection with the suffrage question. It proposes to repeal the provision of the existing Constitution which forbids any proposed amendment, once defeated, to be submitted again within five years.

It is to be hoped that this repealing amendment may be defeated together with the suffrage amendment. Conservative voters will vote "No" on both. As the New Jersey Constitution now stands, the favorable action of two legislatures being required to submit an amendment, there would be an interval of seven years at least before the question could come up again. That is not too long a period of tranquility.

A DEGRADATION AND A DISGRACE TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE

(Editorial in the Boston American, July 27, 1915)

A THING happened in New York the other night that ought not to happen again.

A number of men, for the making of money, organized a brutal prize fight. And women—ordinarily respectable, we presume, in their methods and in their actions—appeared at this prize fight, and between the fighting talked about woman suffrage.

Women ought not to go into the sewers to talk suffrage, or go into disorderly resorts—least of all appear in a prize-fight gathering.

We take a charitable view of the women who went to that particular prize fight, and assume that they were ignorant and ill-advised, rather than vulgarly seeking to advertise themselves and gratify a morbid interest. We do not assume that they belong to the limited class of women unfit to vote or share in any important undertaking.

We call the attention of intelligent and well-informed women in the suffrage movement to this particular piece of folly and bad taste. Nothing more gratifying to the clinging-vine, anti-suffrage women could be dreamt of, nothing that would give more powerful backing to the argument of those who say that woman suffrage would be a step in the direction of woman's immorality.

Those responsible for this particular folly should be eliminated from the councils of the woman suffrage party.

ABUSE IN PLACE OF ARGUMENT

SUFFRAGIST leaders seem incapable of realizing that personal abuse not only does not take the place of argument but that it is certain to cost them votes.

Here is Dr. Shaw, the national head of the suffrage movement, saying, in the Pittsburgh Sun of August 2:

"So far as the opposition to suffrage is concerned, were it not for the forces opposed (under cover usually) to all that which is advanced for the best welfare of the greatest number of people, *there would be no antis. You must seek the forces back of the antis to explain their opposition, and once revealed the revelation gives added reason why women should have the privilege of the ballot. . . . If the women known as anti-suffragists are not working for some hidden, cloaked force, why are they working at all?*"

Elsewhere in this paper there are given expressions of opinion by anti-suffrage leaders in different States. The reader who glances at them will perceive that there is no lack of strong and convincing reasons which explain the course of these women. Yet it is these women, and tens of thousands of others like them—sincere, high-minded, unselfish, consecrated to the service of their sex and the state—whom Dr. Shaw accuses of working "for some hidden, cloaked force" and insists that no other reason can be found for their activity.

If Dr. Shaw is wise, she will give attention to the rebuke which that strong suffrage newspaper, the New York Evening Post, administers to the suffragists' policy of personal abuse. In its issue of August 17, it says editorially:

"This business of calling names is bad tactics. It creates more opposition than it allays. It is the sort of thing that drives neutrals into the enemy's camp. It was a cartoonist's happy idea which first depicted the unholy alliance between the 'society woman'—presumably all women opposed to suffrage wear diamonds—the political thug, and the saloon-proprietor. (This, by the way, was a Woman's Journal cartoon. Ed. Rem.)

It must have been upon this cartoon that Mr. Bradley, of Asbury Park, drew for his data when he refused the use of his auditorium for an anti-suffrage meeting. He was immediately called to task, and so far we have seen no statement from his side pointing out the specific time and place when the brewery interests have contributed to anti-suffragist campaign funds.

Mr. Bradley would have rather a hard time making out his case. Such facts as we have on the relation between the suffrage movement and the prohibition movement reveal no intimate connection between votes and anti-liquor on the one hand, or no votes and the saloons on the other. Of ten Prohibition States, only three have the suffrage for women. Of twelve suffrage States, only four have prohibition. The ratio plainly shows that it is possible to choose only one of the two without criminal motive or even without basic inconsistency. Abroad we have the case of Denmark and Finland, where suffrage has scored most heavily in far from sober communities. On general principles *it would probably be nearer the truth to say that the woman who is against the saloon would also show an inclination against suffrage.* The strength of the temperance movement has been among women rather maliciously described as 'home-loving.' That same instinct would militate against any tendency which threatened to take women out of the home by giving them wider political interests."

It is too late to expect Dr. Shaw to profit by these frank criticisms. But Massachusetts suffrage leaders will do well to heed them.

THE VOTE OF 1895

ACCORDING to a New York dispatch of August 13, Miss Blackwell, at a conference of suffrage presidents in the campaign states, held at East Orange, N. J., the day before, "called attention to the fact that when Massachusetts voted on suffrage in 1895, with sentiment hardly awakened, 109,000 men cast their ballots for the cause."

It is to be hoped that Miss Blackwell was misreported, for she knows quite well that the figure quoted was the combined vote of men and women in favor of suffrage. The exact num-

ber who voted "Yes" was: Men, 86,970, women, 22,204.

Miss Blackwell apparently forgot to mention that the number of men who voted "No" was 186,976, an adverse majority of 100,106, which was the heaviest majority ever given in Massachusetts against any proposition submitted to the people.

There were in Massachusetts, in 1895, more than 575,000 women entitled to register and vote, but, in spite of the strenuous suffrage campaign, more than 550,000 of these women declined to vote. There were 47 towns in which no woman voted, and there were 138 other towns in which the women voting "Yes" numbered 15 or less.

In 1895, less than four per cent. of Massachusetts women of voting age voted "Yes" in the referendum. That is just about the percentage now annually voting for school committee. The suffrage movement, in the intervening twenty years, has hardly advanced "by leaps and bounds."

THE American Year-Book for 1915 names five States in which child-labor laws were enacted or amended in 1914. They were New York, Kentucky, Georgia, Maryland and Arkansas,—all of them male-suffrage States.

REMEMBER

THAT MASSACHUSETTS MEN ALWAYS HAVE PROTECTED AND MAY BE RELIED UPON ALWAYS TO PROTECT THE INTERESTS OF MASSACHUSETTS WOMEN.

THAT THE KEYNOTE OF THE SUFFRAGE CAMPAIGN IS SEX ANTAGONISM.

THAT NO SUCH ANTAGONISM EXISTS IN THIS STATE EXCEPT IN THE HEATED IMAGINATION OF SUFFRAGE ORATORS.

THAT THE SUFFRAGE ARGUMENTS AIM TO AROUSE A SEX BITTERNESS WHICH IS DISASTROUS TO MEN AND WOMEN ALIKE.

THAT THIS MISCHIEVOUS AGITATION SHOULD BE PERMANENTLY CHECKED BY AN OVERWHELMING DEFEAT OF THE SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT AT THE POLLS.

SENATOR ROOT STANDS PAT

(From the Springfield Republican,
Aug. 11, 1915)

To the Editor of The Republican:—

The Republican recently commented editorially upon the correspondence relating to Senator Root's views upon woman suffrage, and drew from it the inference that his opposition to suffrage had been somewhat modified since he made his strong speech against it in the New York constitutional convention of 1894.

You will be interested, I am sure, to have a definite statement of his position. I wrote to him July 31, saying:

If I am not trespassing too far upon your courtesy, I should appreciate it as a very great favor if you would inform me whether the arguments against suffrage which you advanced in 1894 have at all lost their force in the intervening years, or whether they still seem to you conclusive.

I have received from him the following note, dated at Albany, August 6:

I have received your letter of July 31. The recent publication in New Jersey reported to have come from me was a copy of the remarks made by me in the course of a debate on the subject of woman suffrage in the constitutional convention of New York 21 years ago and not a new utterance. However, I have not changed my opinion at all.

The gist of the remarks in the constitutional convention of 1894, to which Mr. Root refers, and which he now definitely reaffirms, is contained in the following paragraph:—

I am opposed to the granting of suffrage to women, because I believe that it would be a loss to women, to all women and every woman, and because I believe it would be an injury to the state, and to every man and woman in the state.

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, who saw fit to describe this utterance as having "the whiff of a lavender-scented sentimentalism distinctly late-Victorian in essence," will be surprised, in my opinion, on the 3d of November, to find how many men, in New York and Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, share Mr. Root's views.

Frank Foxcroft.

Cambridge, August 9, 1915.

NON-PARTISAN CLUB WOMEN

FOLLOWING the irregular and unsanctioned vote of the Massachusetts Federation of Women's Clubs at Marion, there has been organized an Association of Non-Partisan Club Women, to help the women's clubs of Massachusetts to maintain a non-partisan position in their activities. Mrs. Henry Coolidge Mulligan of Natick, former President of the Massachusetts State Federation, has accepted the presidency of the new organization, Mrs. William B. Churchill of Milton is vice-president, and Mrs. Gamaliel Bradford of Wellesley is the corresponding secretary. In her letter to Mrs. Bradford, accepting the presidency, Mrs. Mulligan wrote:

"As a delegate to the Federation meeting at Marion, I opposed the adoption of the resolution favoring equal suffrage. I should have opposed with equal earnestness the adoption of an anti-suffrage resolution. I share the opinion entertained by many of our club women that the introduction and adoption of such a resolution is contrary to the letter and spirit of our constitution. I believe that the founders of the Federation, among whom Julia Ward Howe, an ardent suffragist, was the guiding spirit, had a deliberate purpose in mind when they inserted in the constitution the words "unsectarian and non-partisan" and that it is due in large measure to the wisdom and restraint of those early club women that our Massachusetts Federation has attained its present position of power and influence. Of late years, through the growth of suffrage sentiment and through the activity of certain club women who consider the suffrage cause of paramount importance, a new interpretation has been given to the constitution, an interpretation which made possible the presentation of the resolution at Marion.

"The widespread dissatisfaction and dissension which have arisen as a result of the passage of this resolution clearly indicate that equal suffrage must still be regarded as a partisan question. Aside from the evil consequences of injecting a partisan question into our Federation, the methods used to secure the passage of the resolution have also aroused criticism. A further source of dissatisfaction is the fact that the vote has been made to

appear other than the mere expression of the personal opinion of the delegates, although in response to a question from the floor during the debate, the chairman stated that the vote would be a personal one.

"I believe that the welfare of the Federation requires that such action be taken as shall forever bar the introduction of partisan questions. I therefore approve of the formation of this Association of Non-Partisan Club Women, and am willing to work to further its purposes. Let there be no anger or bitterness in our hearts, but in a spirit of devotion and self-sacrifice, let us work to restore to our beloved Federation that spirit of unity in diversity which has been so beautifully interpreted: 'In essentials, unity; in non-essentials, diversity, and in all things, charity.'"

THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE MIND

(Everett P. Wheeler in the New York Tribune, July 28, 1915)

The anti-suffrage mind holds firmly to the proposition that the object of government is the greatest good for the greatest number. The mothers and children of America are in a large majority. There are over 17,664,687 mothers, not including widows and divorcees (census 1910) and 29,399,136 children under 13 years of age, and over 9,000,000 between the ages of fifteen and nineteen. We believe that the best interests of society will be promoted by the careful training of these children and young people, and that if their mothers go into politics they could not bring the children up as well as they do now. In short, we recognize that politics are exciting and engrossing, that once women are drawn into the vortex they are more excited and engrossed than men are.

REMEMBER

THAT NINETY FOUR OF EVERY ONE HUNDRED WOMEN MARRY;
THAT THEY ARE BUSY WITH THE CARE OF THEIR HOMES AND THEIR CHILDREN;
THAT THEY HAVE NEITHER TIME NOR INCLINATION TO TAKE UP POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITIES;
THAT IT IS UNJUST TO LOAD SUCH BURDENS UPON THEM AT THE DEMAND OF A SMALL MINORITY;
THAT THE WELFARE BOTH OF THE STATE AND THE WOMEN OF THE STATE WILL BE SERVED BY DEFEATING THE SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT NEXT NOVEMBER.

MORE SUFFRAGE FALSEHOODS

UNABLE to find any real instances of injustice in Massachusetts laws, the suffragists busy themselves in inventing them.

Suffragists have been going up and down the state telling working women that the law allows their husbands to take possession of their wages; and that, if they do not do so, it is because they are too considerate to use this right.

There is absolutely no truth in this statement.

Section 4, Chapter 153, of the Revised Laws of Massachusetts expressly says: "*Work and labor performed by a married woman for a person other than her husband and children shall, unless there is an express agreement on her part to the contrary, be presumed to be performed on her separate account.*"

Almost seventy years ago, Massachusetts began legislating for the protection of married women in this particular. By the Statutes of 1846, Chapter 209, Section 1, it was enacted that: "In all cases where married women shall hereafter, *by their own labor, earn wages*, payment may be made to them for the same."

This was followed by the Statutes of 1855, Chapter 304, Section 7, which provided:

"Any married woman may carry on any trade or business, and perform any labor or services, on her sole and separate account; and the earnings of any married woman from her trade, business, labor, or services, shall be her sole and separate property, and may be used and invested by her in her own name."

Then came the Statute of 1857, Chapter 249, Section 6, which released the husband from obligations with reference to his wife's contracts in respect to her separate property or her trade, and provided:

"The property both real and personal which any married woman now owns as her sole and separate property, that which comes to her by descent, devise, bequest, gift or grant, that which she acquires by her trade, business, labor or services, carried on

or performed on her sole and separate account . . . shall, notwithstanding her marriage, be and remain her sole and separate property, and may be used, collected and invested by her in her own name, and shall not be subject to the interference or control of her husband, or liable for his debts."

Then came the Statutes of 1874, which are embodied in the Section 4 of the Revised Laws above quoted. Under these laws, the married woman's capacity for labor does not belong to her husband. He can appropriate neither her earnings nor her time. Her right to employ her time for the earning of money on her own account is complete, subject only to the requirement of recording a certificate in case she enters into trade.

But, while the wife is entirely free to own property or earn wages, the husband's obligation to support her and his children remains. Twenty years ago, Judge Allen, in deciding the case of Harmon vs. Old Colony Railroad, said:

"This law (Section 4, of Chapter 153, above alluded to) may interfere with his right to and enjoyment of her society and services. But this is a consequence which the Legislature must be deemed to have foreseen and intended. His right in these respects is now made subordinate to her right to employ her time in the care and management of her property, and in the earning of money by performing labor or by carrying on a trade or business. So far as the statutes have given to her a right to act independently of him, so far his rights and control in respect to her are necessarily abridged. He can no longer compel her to work for him during such time as she may choose to perform labor on her sole and separate account. . . . By the common law, the husband was bound to support his wife, and therefore was entitled to her services. By the statutes, which modify the common law, *his right to her services is abridged, though his obligation to support her remains.*"

This then is the actual status of the married woman in Massachusetts. It is embedded in the legislation of the last seventy years. It is sustained by dozens of decisions of the courts. What excuse have the suffragists for falsifying it?

VOTES ANY WAY!

(DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW, President of the National Woman Suffrage Association, in her contribution to the Suffrage Number of the New York Evening Post, Feb. 25, 1915, said: "I believe in Woman Suffrage whether all women vote or no women vote; whether all women vote right or all women vote wrong; whether women will love their husbands after they vote or forsake them; whether they will neglect their children or never have any children.")

Some people do not understand
The Woman Suffrage Cause;
They seem to think that Suffragists
Can give them better laws;
But Doctor Anna Shaw explains
The Woman Suffrage Creed,
So all of you in any doubt
This little lesson read.

"In Woman Suffrage I believe,
To Suffrage I belong,
I don't care if we all vote right
Or if we all vote wrong;
Or if a wife should leave her home
Or from her husband flee,
So long as women get the vote
That's all that bothers me.

"In Woman Suffrage I believe
If husbands lose their wives,
Or children are neglected too,
For what are children's lives?
But 'Votes for Women' is my cry,
All other things I scorn;
To me the 'Vote' is everything
If not a child was born."

So now you know the Suffrage Creed
As told by Doctor Shaw;
You know just what it's all about
And what they're fighting for.
Now when Election Day comes round
And to the polls you go,
Just bear in mind the Suffrage Creed
And write a great big "NO."

—Phil Hanna.

A LONG WAY OFF

(From the Boston Transcript)

WHENEVER a decisive majority of the women of Massachusetts are desirous of adding to their burdens that of suffrage and are ready to discharge to the best of their abilities the responsibilities imposed by the privilege of a vote—for it is a privilege and not a right—we shall welcome suffrage in this State, but not until that day comes. . . . Surface indications in recent campaigns point to the defeat of the amendment, certainly in Massachusetts and probably in New York, by a large vote.

SIDE STEPPING ON PROHIBITION

If any Prohibitionists still cherish the notion that woman suffrage and prohibition are causes which move hand in hand, they should be enlightened by the utterances of suffrage leaders.

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, chairman of the New York state suffrage campaign committee, has followed the example of Dr. Shaw and other suffrage leaders in disavowing all connection between the two movements. She says:

"From its inception half a century ago, the suffrage movement has been conducted upon a uniform platform with a single plank, 'votes for women.' All suffrage organizations have operated upon an absolutely non-partisan and non-sectarian basis. *They have endorsed no party, no reform, no public policy, which could possibly tend to divide their own forces.* Both sides of the liquor controversy have utterly failed to comprehend the meaning of the suffrage movement. . . . A desire for personal liberty in governmental matters; a feeling that an outrageous injustice is done the mothers of the race who are denied a voice in the welfare of their country . . . these are the motives that impel women to seek the ballot. Our strict non-partisan attitude may have delayed the coming of woman suffrage, but when it comes, women will be absolutely free to choose parties, candidates and causes, without obligation to any. So thoroughly inculcated is this idea in the suffrage movement that I venture to prophesy that however long the granting of the vote to women may be postponed, suffragists will never endorse any party or cause."

This is sufficiently explicit. It fits in with Dr. Shaw's statement that what the position of women voters upon the liquor problem will be "has never been guessed, much less stated, by suffrage associations"; with the official announcement of the Michigan Equal Suffrage Association that "The temperance issue has nothing to do with woman suffrage"; and with the plain statement of the Nevada Equal Suffrage Society that it had "no quarrel with the existing order of things, saloon or otherwise" and that "some

of the men interested in the saloon business have shown us not only the greatest courtesy, but have helped us in various ways." Perhaps it was by the help thus acknowledged that the suffragists were able to carry the wettest state in the Union. It may be noticed that Mrs. Catt gives the first place among the motives which impel the suffragists to "A desire for personal liberty in governmental matters,"—thus adopting as her own a phrase which has long been the slogan of the liquor interests.

This side-stepping on Prohibition, this attempt to relieve any apprehensions on the part of the saloons will continue through the campaign. After the campaign is over, the suffragists will again insist that it was the saloons that defeated them.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE HALTED

MISLED by suffragist boasts, there are probably a good many people who think of the suffrage movement as striding triumphantly over the West and the Middle West.

But the truth is that Kansas is the only state east of the Rocky Mountains which has been won for suffrage.

Also, it is a fact worth remembering,—although never mentioned by the suffragists—that the five states, Ohio, Missouri, Nebraska and North and South Dakota, which rejected the woman suffrage amendment last November, have a total population larger by more than two millions than the combined population of the eleven suffrage states.

In that single campaign year, therefore, more people arrayed themselves against suffrage than have been won over to suffrage by sixty years of agitation.

SOCIALISM AND SUFFRAGE

THERE is good reason for the ardor with which Socialists have espoused the suffrage cause.

It is because they feel sure that "votes for women" means a large reinforcement of the Socialist vote.

This is not a conjecture, or an expectation, or a dream. It is a firm assurance, based on actual experience.

There were six states in which women participated in voting at the Presidential election in 1912. These six states,—California, Colorado, Idaho, Utah, Washington and Wyoming—have a total population smaller, by nearly a million and a half, than the population of the six New England states.

But the six suffrage states gave Debs, the Socialist candidate for President, more than five times as large a vote as the New England states. The Debs vote in the six suffrage states was 159,496; in the New England states only 30,170.

So, when the Socialists call the suffragists "Comrades" and promise them every possible assistance in this year's campaigns, they know what they are about. They are working to swell their own voting strength. The suffragists may wish that they would keep quiet about it, but that is too much to expect.

THE REMONSTRANCE is indebted to The Woman's Protest for the illustration which shows the relative importance of male-suffrage and double-suffrage states on the only fair basis of comparison—that by population. The figures are so drawn as to exactly represent populations. It almost requires a microscope to find the figures which stand for Nevada, Wyoming, Arizona, Idaho, Montana and Utah; Colorado, Washington and Oregon are not very impressive; and the only double-suffrage states which cut much of a figure in the map are Kansas and California. The population statistics re-enforce the pictorial presentation.

The New Anti-Suffrage Campaign Song,

"THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE ROSE"

By Phil Hanna

is making a great hit. Send for a copy. Price, 10c, postage 1c extra. On sale at Massachusetts Anti-Suffrage headquarters, 685 Bolyton Street, Boston.